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"Now, mark how a plain tale shall put you down."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE AND HIS PARTISANS. (Continued from p. 530.) Anxious as I am to enter upon other subjects, I cannot bring myself to quit this, till I have placed the whole of it before my readers in its true light. My general motives and character are, in themselves considered, of very little importance to the public; but, when a description of them is employed as a means of palliating the conduct of Lord Melville, they become of an importance exactly proportioned to the extent of the circulation and influence, whatever they may be, of my comments upon that conduct; for, however decidedly logic may reject every attempt to justify one man by producing the crimes of which his accusers have been guilty, it is, nevertheless certain, that every such attempt, if not counteracted, does, in some degree or other, succeed. The crimes of which I am accused by these hirelings are not, indeed, very similar to those of which Lord Melville stands in reality accused. Mine are of a literary nature; they have in them nothing, partaking of the nature of peculation or corruption; and, the reader might well ask, "how can Mr. Cobbett's pamphlet (if they "will have it so) published in 1791, and "*complaining that the soldiers were cheated* "*of their due*; how, in the name of com- "mon sense, can the act of writing and "publishing such a pamphlet by Mr. Cob- "bett, supposing him to have been the au- "thor and publisher, and supposing the "work to have been most powerfully mis- "chievous; how, in what way, or upon "what principle, can such a fact be brought "to tell in favour of Lord Melville?" But, the reader, who would ask this question, would forget, that there is a very numerous class of readers, who never reason, and who very seldom take time to think, having so long been in the habit of paying the editor of some newspaper eight or nine pounds a year each to think for them. With this class *words* are enough. Lord Melville has his faults to be sure, and so has Mr. Cobbett, "for all he makes such a piece of work "about Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. Let "him who is guiltless throw the first stone. "They are all alike. It always was so, and "always will be so." These are the sort of remarks you hear from such persons. They stop not a moment to examine, to compare, to judge; and, therefore, it is necessary to deprive, where you can, the partisans of guilt of the means of thus amusing, bewildering, and misleading the people; of thus blunting the edge of the just resentment of the nation.——For this reason it is; that *the cause of the country suffer not through me* is the ground, upon which I venture thus to obtrude myself upon the patience of my readers. Important and even awful as are the times; great as are the objects that present themselves on every side, I am fully persuaded, that the decision with regard to Lord Melville is that which claims the greatest share of our attention; because, on that decision, and on the proceedings therewith connected, it will be made clearly appear, even to the lowest peasant in the land, what is the degree of anxiety, which he ought to entertain, and, of course, what are the efforts which he ought to make, for the preservation of the laws and the government under which he lives, and under which Lord Melville became, and continued for sixteen years to be, Treasurer of the Navy.——VERSATILITY is one of the charges against me, upon which I must say a few words. Of my "*changing*," as it has been called, from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Fox, I have already spoken, in Vol. VI. p. 5[illegible], to which I beg leave to refer the reader, requesting him to bear in mind, that *no answer* has ever been attempted, and trusting that he will conclude, that no answer could successfully be made. But, the *versatility* alluded to by the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN," made its appearance in my conduct in America. I "changed from a republican to a "high-flying loyalist." Such a change should, one would think, be approved of by these supporters of the "*confidential* ser- "vants of the King." But, we do not, in politics, apply the term versatility to a mere change of opinion, or of party. We always understand from the use of it, that there has been some inconstancy; some inconsistency; some deviation from the path of honour; in short, we generally understand, that the change alluded to has been produced by some sinister motive. If this definition of the term be correct, then, I think, I may

defy any one to show, that I discovered versatility in America; for, the motives, from which I acted, could not be any other than those of real patriotism and loyalty, seeing that what I did was contrary to my evident private interests, and seeing that, at the time when I began to write, it was utterly improbable, that I could have had the least notion of ever returning to England. Had I been willing to become what they called a citizen of the United States; had I taken the oath of allegiance, as other British subjects did; had I even forborne only a little to assert the cause of my country; nay, had I consented merely to refrain from declaring my unshaken attachment to monarchy and my dislike of republican government; in how many ways might I have profited from it! There were no reasonable bounds, to which I might not confidently have looked forward to see my fortune extended! My perseverance in a contrary line of conduct appeared so unaccountable, upon any common principle, that the people in America, friends as well as foes, regarded me as being in the pay of the British government. The latter abused me most unmercifully upon the supposition, and the former, though they justified the ministry for giving me a pension, and me for taking one, did not, perhaps, think the better of me for it. I always denied the fact; but, my zeal, my efforts, my sacrifices of every sort, were such that it was impossible to make men believe, that I was not regularly and amply supplied with "the gold "of Pitt." So far, however, was this from being true, that I never did, upon any occasion, receive aid of any sort from the British government. MR. LISTON, our minister in America, informed me, in the year 1798, I think it was, that the ministers at home were fully sensible of the obligations due to me from my country, and that, if I would accept of nothing for myself, they wished me to point out any of my relations, in the army or elsewhere, whom they might serve. To which I answered, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words. "As "to my relations in the army, I can ask for "no promotion for them, because I have "not an opportunity of knowing whether "such promotion would be consistent with "the good of the service; and, with re"spect to my relations out of the army, a "sudden elevation might, perhaps, be very "far from contributing to their happiness, "besides which, though it would be my duty "to assist them by means of my own earnings, "I should not think it just in me to be in"strumental in throwing them as a burden "upon the nation." I may now have expressed myself with more perspicuity and conciseness than I did then; but, this was the substance of my answer; and, if I may judge from what I have since witnessed amongst public writers, I must suppose, that MR. LISTON was utterly astonished. It should be observed too, that, if there was a man in the world, through whom such an offer could have had a chance of success, that man was MR. LISTON; a gentleman for whom I entertained a very high respect, and whose conduct constantly evinced, that he was not merely a receiver of the public money, but one who had the interest and honour of his King and country deeply at heart. I had been a witness of his zeal, of his real public spirit, of his unremitted attention to his duty, of the great mischiefs he prevented, and of the great good which he did; and, I respected him accordingly; but, neither that respect, nor any other consideration, could induce me to depart from that line of perfect independence, which I had at first chalked out to myself, and from which, I never have, to the best of my recollection, for one moment, deviated.——It is, therefore, quite impossible, I think, to attribute my writings in America to any other than honourable and praise-worthy motives. The truth is, the change in my way of thinking was produced by experience. I had an opportunity of *seeing* what republican government was; this experience overcame prejudice; I followed the dictates of truth and of reason. Instead of that perfect freedom, and that amiable simplicity, of which PAINE had given me so flattering a description, I found myself placed under a set of petty, mean, despots, ruling by the powers given them by a perversion of the law of England. The judges (for it is to the courts of justice that I look for the marks of freedom) I found, generally speaking, to be a set of low, partial, jobbing fellows; and, as to the juries, I found, that whoever knew the jurors and the parties, knew the result *before the trial began!* Never was there such a vile mockery of any thing, as the American administration of justice according to the forms of England. There was a judge at Philadelphia, who was actually caught thieving in a shop. This must not be taken as a specimen of the conduct of the judges *in general*; but, it will easily be supposed how little respectable the judges must have been, where such a fact could have existed, and that, too, without creating any very great indignation in the minds of the people. I saw judges *canvassing* in the very courts where they were acting as judges; canvassing for the posts of governor, or of legislator in the ge-

neral government; and, in one notorious instance, this sort of canvass was prosecuted, amongst the plaintiffs and defendants even from the bench. In short, I found, that there was no such thing as impartial justice in the country; and, of course, no such thing as *real freedom*. There were a hundred ways in which the powerful oppressed the weak; ways quite unknown in England. I found, that the government was a despotism of the many over the few; for, every act of oppression was committed *in the name of the people*: hence the sufferer experienced no compassion, and the oppressor no punishment, and very little hatred. The merchants were, in general, without probity; the lawyers mere pettifoggers; and the people full of cheating and profligacy. The general character of the nation I found to be a mixture of insolence and meanness. Many, very many, exceptions, were, however, to be found. A part of the people of the United States always appeared to me to be amongst the best of mankind. Scrupulously upright, hospitable, kind and generous to excess, and most nobly steady in their friendships. I observed, too, that it was amongst the descendants of the *ancient settlers*, amongst the real Americans, that this description of persons was found; and that, in general, the more recent the emigration, the worse the character. This observation tended most powerfully to confirm me in my growing hatred of republicanism, almost all the good people having been, and yet, in heart, being, royalists.——And, shall the change, produced in my mind by experience like this, be denominated *versatility!* But, the *change* which these "GENTLEMEN" affect to have perceived in my principles, *since my return to England*, is, perhaps, the ground upon which this charge is to rest; and here there is a very odious motive that they scruple not to impute to me; namely; that of revenge arising from "*disappointment*;" a charge which I am the more inclined to take this opportunity of noticing, because it was once mentioned to me by DR. VALPY, as having been urged against me, at READING, during the opposition to Mr. Addington. This is an important point, as far as any thing relating to a person like me can be of importance; and, therefore, I shall be obliged again to trespass upon the patience of the reader with a detail somewhat minute.——From my very first outset in politics, I formed the resolution of keeping myself perfectly independent, whatever difficulty or calamity might be the consequence of it. In adherence to this resolution, I rejected, in America, many offers of great pecuniary advantage; and, so scrupulous was I upon this head, that an offer of my landlord in Philadelphia (a person of ample fortune) to settle upon my daughter, then about two years old, an estate worth 400*l*. sterling a year, was rejected by me, though the will was made; and, this rejection arose solely from my persuasion that it was necessary to the preservation of my political independence, a persuasion that the reader would percieve to have been well founded, if he could possess a full knowledge of the circumstances, in which I was then placed. When urged by MR. OLDDEN, whose memory I shall always respect, to consider the comfort of my child, I replied, that either she would die in her infancy or she would not; if the former, she would need no estate; if the latter, she would be able to choose between a father's reputation and a fortune for herself: if she chose the former, the want of the fortune would, of course, give her no pain; and if she preferred the latter, she would deserve neither fortune nor any thing else that was valuable. I am here relating well-known facts. When Mr. OLDDEN died, his relations expected to see me come forward with the will, and with my claim. My disinterestedness was admired; but, neither that nor any other good quality that I happened to possess, could prevent the abominable injustice of a Philadelphia judge and jury.——With the same resolution in my mind I returned to England. The first opportunity of putting it in practice was in a little matter, with which OLD GEORGE ROSE had something to do. I had brought home with me books, printed in America, enough to fill a couple of large trunks; and, having been informed by MR. PELLEW, the collector at Falmouth, that, as to books *not for sale*, it was usual, upon an application made to the Secretary of the Treasury, to obtain a remission of the duties, I wrote to OLD ROSE, informing him of the circumstance, and stating to him the ground, upon which my claim was founded. GEORGE did not admit the claim; he made some difficulty about it; but, finding that I had, at once, paid the duty, amounting to about ten pounds, perhaps, he caused it to be notified to me, that *the money should be returned to me*. This offer I would not accept of, not perceiving how, except by way of *a Treasury gift*, such a return could be made.——After this, an offer was made me of the TRUE BRITON newspaper; and, it was made me, too, in the most fair and honourable way. There would have been nothing improper in my accepting of it upon the terms proposed; there

being no attempt made to bridle me, in any manner whatever. Yet, so firmly fixed was my determination not to expose myself to the temptation of government influence, and particularly through the means of advantage derived from the public money, that I begged leave to decline, and did decline, this offer. I embarked upon my own bottom, and, it is well known, that my enterprise was unsuccessful. The difficulties which this gave rise to are not to be described. I was saved from utter ruin by a friend, and, it is right, that all those who are good enough to set any value on my labours, should be informed, that that friend was MR. PENN, who, from the knowledge he had acquired with respect to me, took me by the hand the very week that I came to England; most kindly inquired into my circumstances; and, when I stood in need of his aid, most liberally gave it me. I have wanted, and have found, other friends too; but, MR. PENN I shall always regard as my preserver. He has, like other men, his partialities in politics; he has differed from me very widely, perhaps, as to many points, and particularly as to the merits of MR. PITT; but, always has he left me to pursue my own course, avoiding, with the utmost care, every thing whereby my obligations to him might be made to operate against the independence of my mind.——At the time when this present work was established, it will be recollected, that the nation was (in a state of stupor) falling into the grasp of France. I was very anxious to make one more effort to rescue her; and, I think, that, however widely some men may differ with me as to most points, few will deny, that this effort has been attended with some degree of success. But, I had not the means, fairly my own, of establishing this work. The risk of a beginning was more than I dared to encounter; was more than I should have been justified in encountering. These means, therefore, about six hundred pounds, were furnished me chiefly, but not entirely, by gentlemen conspicuous in what was then called the NEW OPPOSITION; and, I cannot better describe the views and the character of those gentlemen, than by transcribing part of a letter to one of them from myself, containing the terms, upon which they supported me. "It is generally said, Sir, that "we should address ourselves to those who "*want information*; because, the *well-informed* are almost all friendly to the cause "of their king and country. This is very "true; but there is some difference of opinion as to *who* are *well-informed* and who "*are not*. Indeed, there are two sorts of "persons, who are destitute of information; the *multitude* and *those who*, in "general, *lead the multitude*. It is a very "great error to suppose, that *all* the Clergy, the inferior Magistrates, the Merchants, the Master Manufacturers and "Mechanics, and the opulent Farmers; it is "a very great error to suppose, that all "these are *well-informed* on political topics. "But, it is no error to suppose, that they "are, in general, *capable of being well-informed*; and, if they were so, the opinions of the multitude would be of very "little consequence. It is, then, to the "former, that every thing, intended to "produce great effect on the *sense and reason* of the nation, ought to be addressed. "A publication, addressed to the passions "and prejudices of the multitude, may "raise a mob, and may, in some cases, "quiet a mob; it is a desperate remedy "that is sometimes made use of to destroy, "and sometimes to preserve, lawful authority. But it will never produce any lasting effect; it will never work a change in "the temper and feeling of a whole nation; "it will never raise that gentle steady flame "of patriotism, which alone can lead to "great national actions, and which is so "much wanted at the present awful crisis. "To raise this flame, and to fan it when "raised, the publication I propose appears "to me to be the most efficacious that can "be devised. It will contain an abundance "of useful information, its principles will "be unexceptionable, its expense will be "trifling, it will circulate freely through "the post-office, it will be something between a news-paper and a magazine, "uniting the activity of the former with "the durability of the latter. Such a publication, conducted with great diligence "and care, some talent, unwearied perseverence, and an inviolable attachment to "truth, will, if any thing can, awaken the "dormant spirit of the nation, and form a "rallying point for the now scattered friends "of the king and the country.——To set "this publication on foot, and to support "the chances of the losses on it for *one whole year*, would require a fund of 600l. "How that fund is to be raised is not for "me to say; how it would be expended I "shall state hereafter. But, before I proceed to do that, it is necessary, that "I should explicitly state what light I wish "to be viewed in with regard to the proposed enterprize.——I sunk about 750l. "in the Porcupine; not because that paper "failed of circulation; but because I could "not, and would not, submit to practise the

"arts, by which advertisements and other "*lucrative* articles are alone to be obtained. "The remainder of my capital was joined to "that of my partner, Mr. Morgan, who, "soon after our partnership was formed, "returned to the United States of America, "with many of the towns of which we "carry on a sort of mercantile trade of con- "siderable magnitude, and not contemptible "in point of profit. But, from that trade "I cannot withdraw any considerable sum. "My duty towards both my partner and my "family would forbid such a step. Yet, I "can by no means think of setting on foot "any sort of subscription, or collection, of "which *my emolument* should be regarded "as the object. I disclaim all desire to de- "rive pecuniary advantage from the proposed "undertaking, and all idea of *personal obli- "gation* towards any one who may think "proper to contribute towards it. I ask for "nothing for myself. I myself want nei- "ther remuneration for the past nor aid for "the future. I have a business quite suffi- "cient to satisfy all my wants and all my "wishes." [In this I most grievously de- "ceived myself, by the bye]. "I ask not "for encouragement even in that business. "Its success is so certain, and so perfectly "independent of every one in England, "that I might, without the least injury "thereto, shut up my shop, and retire to the "country, only taking a ride to London "twice a week. Such, too, is the nature of "my concerns, and the situation of my "property, that I might, were *self-interest "and security* my ruling object, fold up my "hands, and let the storm take its course. "But, self-interest was never a pecuniary "consideration with me; and, I have so "long exerted myself for my king and "country, I have endeavoured to do, and I "have really suffered so much for them, in "almost every way that a man can act or "suffer, that to desire to promote their in- "terest and their honour is become the lead- "ing propensity of my mind. I am, there- "fore, willing; I am even anxiously de- "sirous, to conduct the publication now "proposed; but, that desire, great as it is, "will not suffer me to do, or to accept of, "any thing, that shall, in the smallest de- "gree, work a forfeiture of that indepen- "dence, to preserve which, I have, all my "life-time, practised, and I still do practise, "industry and economy to their utmost "extent."——This letter was addressed to Mr. Windham, by him communicated to eight other gentlemen of the New Opposition, shewn afterwards by me to two others, whom I might call private friends, and thus the foundation of the Register was laid; being, I trust it will be thought, a foundation as fair and as honourable as any of which the mind of man can possibly form an idea. It was building upon a rock; and the house has stood, accordingly, in spite of the winds and the floods. In asserting my own character, I am not, however, to forget the support thus received from the truly patriotic spirit of the New Opposition. I have strictly observed my part of the engagement, and so have they; for, never, upon any occasion, has any one of them attempted, by means either direct or indirect, to thwart the course of my mind. They have sometimes agreed, and sometimes disagreed, with me; but, have never attempted to exercise any thing resembling a power of dictation; they have never offered advice in a manner, other than that in which they would naturally offer it to one another; and, if there have been a few instances, in which Mr. Windham has discovered more than ordinary solicitude with regard to my writings, his influence has been exerted in favour of his bitterest enemies, those by whom he has been the most despitefully used, and the most basely misrepresented.——Thus have I fully and fairly laid open to the reader the whole course of my political life; and, I appeal to him, whether I am likely to be influenced by selfish motives; whether my opposition to the ministry has arisen from feelings connected with "disappointment;" whether I have been, or am, "a tool of a faction;" whether, in fine, I am a person whose *character* and whose *motives* ought to weigh against those efforts which I have been making, and which I still shall make, against the abettors of peculation and corruption.—To make these efforts I consider as my duty, being firmly persuaded, that, if the ends of justice be defeated now, the confidence of the people in their government, and, of course, their zeal in the defence of that government, must be greatly diminished.—Acting upon this persuasion, I shall, as occasion serves, continue the series of remarks, which I have now begun, upon the publications evidently intended to deceive and mislead the people with regard to the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt; and, I should, were there time, now proceed to an examination of the doctrine, laid down as the basis of the arguments contained in the "Review of the Reports," and the substance of which doctrine was contained in a passage, quoted in page 513 of the present volume. Before, however, I dismiss the subject, even for the present, it is necessary to say a word or two upon the passage quoted in page 517,

addressed to Mr. Windham, and insinuating, that, if he should persevere in the measures of prosecution against Lord Melville, he must expect *retaliation*. The impudence of these hirelings is surpassed by nothing but their baseness. Amongst those who have the honour to know Mr. Windham, such an insinuation will be treated with disdain; but, the vile wretches, who have had recourse to it, know very well that there are many amongst the people who have not this knowledge and they hope, by such means, to create a belief, or a suspicion at least, that *all* public men are *alike*. If they were made to explain their meaning, they would say, nay, they would take their oath, if necessary to their safety, that they meant no such thing; but, they trust to the contempt that Mr. Windham will entertain for them, and under the impunity which that will secure them, they hope to deserve well of their patrons and employers.

Mr. Pitt's Parish Army.—In a circular letter from the Secretary of State, Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, which I am now about to insert here, there will be found a most happy commentary upon the celebrated Parish-Bill of Messrs. Pitt and Huskisson, and their associates in the ministry. From the speech of Lord Castlereagh, last session, upon Colonel Craufurd's motion, it appeared that it was meant to carry this bill off for private interment, and that the wearied and disgusted public would never have seen, or heard, any more of it; but, it seems, that it is not dead yet; that, so late as the 16th of September last, (the date of the circular letter), new efforts were making to revive it; and, that, there is a prospect of its still living, if not to be a blessing to its fond parent, the great father and patriarch of projects, yet to be a perennial source of amusement and of mirth in the House of Commons, which, indeed, stands in need of some such means of relief from the dull round of loans and taxation.——The reader will not have forgotten, that one of the *principal objects*, which Mr. Pitt and his fellow-labourers, Messrs Canning and Huskisson, professed to have in view, when they introduced the Parish-Army Bill, was, to put an end, completely to annihilate, the *practice of crimping*; or, as the first of these gentlemen called it, "the *scandalous* "and *abominable* practice of crimping."—Now, we will read the circular letter; and, after that, we shall want very little to aid us in forming a correct opinion, as to the wisdom of the above-mentioned persons and their supporters.—"My Lord, His Majesty's Privy Council" [of which, be it remembered, old George Rose and Canning are now members!] "having, by an appointment made on the 27th "of May, 1805, fixed the proportion of men "to be supplied for the additional force for "the present year for the county of * * *, "and due notice having been given of the "same, pursuant to the 16th section of the "Act 44 George 3. cap. 56, I am to re-"quest that your lordship will call upon "the clerk of the general meetings, to lay "before you a detailed statement of the "proceedings hitherto adopted within that "county for carrying the several provisions "of the act, in this respect, into execution; "and that you will transmit the same to me "for his Majesty's information.——Your "lordship will be pleased particularly to di-"rect, that the date of the first general "meeting, held in consequence of the noti-"fication above alluded to, and also the "time at which the final appointment "amongst the parishes actually took place, "may be specified. You will also state "the progress since made by the parishes in "providing the number of men, which they "were thereby required to furnish; *and* "*you will inquire into, and point out, any* "*particular circumstance which may have* "*hitherto obstructed the success of the levy* "*within your county, in order that mea-*"*sures may be devised for obviating, as far* "*as possible, the same in future.*"——His "Majesty having thought fit, for the better "encouragement of the levy of men for his "army, to increase the reward, now allow-"ed to parties raising men for general ser-"vice (including BRINGERS of recruits) "from 3l. 3s. to 5l. 12s. on each approved "recruit; and having also deemed it expe-"dient that a reward of 4l. 4s. being three-"fourths of the sum above-mentioned, con-"formably to the proportion prescribed by "the act, should in like manner be given "for each man for limited service, raised by "orders of officers commanding battalions "to serve on behalf of the parishes which "have failed to produce their quota within "the time prescribed by law, I am com-"manded to acquaint you, that his Majesty "being desirous to extend to the several pa-"rishes the full benefit of every *new en-*"*couragement*, which may enable them, "with due exertion on their part, to exe-"cute the duty imposed on them by the le-"gislature, has been pleased to direct, that "a like sum of 4l. 4s. be paid in respect of "each man produced by the parish-officers, "to serve on behalf of their respective "parishes; one guinea to belong, as at pre-"sent, to the party appointed to receive the

" recruit, the remaining three guineas to be " payable *to the parish officers* producing " the man.——I have the honour herewith " to transmit the scale which has been ap- " proved by his Majesty, with respect to " the distribution of the several sums above- " mentioned, amongst the persons engaged " in the respective levies, by which you " will perceive that it has been thought de- " sirable in all cases to hold out a very libe- " ral encouragement to the bringers of re- " cruits.——In extending the reward pay- " able to parish officers, from one guinea to " three guineas, his Majesty has not only " had in view the encouraging parish offi- " cers to a zealous and diligent discharge of " their duty, as far as it depends on their " own personal exertions, but the enabling " them (if they think fit) to *offer an equal* " *reward* with that which is given by his " Majesty's regulations; viz. 2l. 12s. 6d. " *to persons bringing recruits to them;* " which in justice to the interest of their " respective parishes, they will no doubt be " desirous of doing, in order thereby to pro- " tect them against the fines to which they " must otherwise be subject.——Your lord- " ship will be pleased to have the above ar- " rangements fully explained, through the " deputy lieutenants in each subdivision, to " the parish officers, pointing out to them, " the *personal advantage* (3l. 3s.) which " they will derive on each man they may " individually procure, and also inculcating " how much they are bound, in duty to " their parishes, by proper encouragement, " to induce others to aid them in the execu- " tion of this service; and with this view it " is certainly desirable that they should " publicly notify the proportion of the above " sum of three guineas, which they intend " to allow to *persons bringing recruits to* " *them*, it being distinctly understood that " this proportion is in no case to exceed " 2l. 12s. 6d. the sum allowed in like cases " by his Majesty's regulations.——Your " lordship will take care that it be explained, " that the above advances are to be made " exclusively by government, and that no " charge whatever is to be thrown upon the " parishes by this arrangement; nor is any " greater bounty or reward, than the twelve " guineas heretofore allowed by his Majes- " ty's regulations, to be on any account, or " under any pretext, either promised or " given to the recruit.——I am further to " request your lordship will observe, that " although the month, within which the " parishes are required by law to complete " their quota from the date of the final ap- " pointments, may have expired in the " county of * * *, the above arrangement is " nevertheless applicable; in order that the " parishes which are yet deficient may en- " title themselves, by the *production* of men " before they are found for them by the re- " gular officers charged with this duty, to a " remission of three-fourths of the penalty " to which they must otherwise be subject. " —It is unnecessary for me to press upon " your lordship's attention, under the pre- " sent circumstances of the war, the ex- " treme necessity of giving effect to this " measure.——His Majesty confides im- " plicitly in your utmost zeal and exertions " being directed to see it carried into im- " mediate and full effect; and I shall be " ready to afford your lordship at all times " my best assistance, in following up an ob- " ject so essentially connected with the mi- " litary strength of the country.—I have the " honour to be, &c. (Signed) HAWKESBURY."

—Here, then, is a crimping-house, opened by royal authority, in every parish in the kingdom; or, here is, at least, an attempt made to effect that purpose, and this, too, observe, by the means which have been taken to carry into the execution a law, one of the principal objects professed by the framers and supporters of which was, the putting an end to " the scandalous and abominable practice of crimping!" But, the whole of Mr. Pitt's measures respecting the army is such a course of absurdity as was never before witnessed, and as is hardly credible. The reader, who now sees these provisions for continuing, extending, and establishing the practice of crimping, will, perhaps, recollect, with what acrimony Mr. Windham was reproached, because he said, that the parish-officers, to have any success worth notice in the raising of men, must, in fact, have recourse to crimps; and that, circumstanced as they were, they would be excuseable for so doing. In that spirit of candour, for which the Pitts and the Old Roses and the Longs are so renowned, this was construed into a declaration, on Mr. Windham's part, *in favour* of the odious practice of crimping; and, Colonel Craufurd having declared, that, he would prefer the common sort of crimps to the making crimps of parish officers, it will be recollected, that the Pitts rang the changes upon his *partiality*, as they called it, for so " *detestable* a practice." This very set of statesmen and legislators are now referring, professedly referring, the parish-officers to crimps; and are enjoining the King's Lieutenants of Counties to inculcate, in all possible ways, the propriety and even the necessity of having speedy and persevering recourse to such

means!——But, "to what useful purpose is this exposure?" it will be asked by some one, who holds during pleasure, who looks for, a place or pension from Mr. Pitt or Mr. Huskisson. To such a person there is no satisfactory answer; but, to others, the answer is, that this exposure is made for the most useful of all practical political purposes; namely, to show, from experience, who are the wise and who the foolish amongst our statesmen and legislators; and, thereby to produce a way of thinking that must naturally tend to such a change and such a choice of men as is most likely to be followed by measures better calculated to promote the interest and to uphold the honour of the nation.——This grand measure, this splendid project, of Mr. Pitt and his worthy associates above-named, has produced *no men* worth speaking of. All England and Wales have, through the means of the parish-officers, produced, probably, not more than *four* thousand men, instead of about *sixty* thousand, that were, by this time, to have been produced. I speak here without book, of course, as to the numbers raised; but, when parliament broke up there were not more than about *three* thousand raised, and there can scarcely have been above one thousand raised since. The Huskissons and the Chinneries and the Pitts and the Cannings tell us, that this, like the peace of Amiens, was an *experiment*. But, when you are told that a scheme will fail; when reasons are given sufficient to convince even doltishness itself, that a scheme cannot succeed; then, though you may call it an experiment, you are not entitled to the indulgence usually granted upon such a plea; and the failure, together with all its consequences, are fairly chargeable to your imbecillity, your incapacity, or your wilfulness. To the former two the parish-bill and its consequences are ascribable; and this project has tended, in no small degree, to produce that opinion, fast becoming prevalent amongst all ranks of people, that Mr. Pitt is, to use the very appropriate expression of Mr. Grey, "a *showy*, but a *shallow* man." What are now become of all his dreams about the astonishing effects of this project? Where are we to look for those evidences of the power of that "local influence," and that "family feeling," of which he gave such a pathetic description, and which drew from the dolts (in the gallery), his admirers, applause expressed in something "between a hiccup and a sigh?" Where are those numerous battalions, which he appeared to see in embryo, and of which he spoke as familiarly as a warrener talks of his couples of conies? How long; House of Commons; people of England; how long will you be the sport of the projects of this men? You, who are renowned through the world for solidity of mind, for profundity of thought, for judiciousness and justice of decision, and for steadiness of purpose; how long will you yet wander; through what other mire, to what other precipices, will you yet be led; to what other shame and disgrace will you yet suffer yourselves to be reduced, by following this glaring and ever-fickle vapour?

CONTINENTAL WAR.——In the next sheet, or as soon as convenient, it will be useful to take a summary view of all the allegations and arguments, advanced in the several public papers, which have been issued by the belligerent powers, and the whole of which have been carefully collected and inserted in the Register. At present, we must confine ourselves to a remark or two upon those passages in the manifesto of Austria and Russia, where they appear as *disclaimers*. It is not easy to see the policy of disclaiming, at the outset, all intention of interference in the internal affairs of France; for though there may now be very little to be hoped for from the Bourbonists, there was no reason for throwing the *chance* of it away; while, on the other hand, the allies may be assured, that the new proprietors in France will have no confidence in the declaration that they have made in this respect. Some persons may think, that this declaration relates merely to the intentions of the combined powers at the outset of the war, and will not bind them in the progress of it; but, where, can be the use of having made it, unless for the purpose of deceiving their own subjects? And, if this were the purpose, it discovers a consciousness of weakness that forbodes no good, and that must operate to the injury of their cause. At any rate, it is not a good thing for the royal cause, for the cause of legitimate and established royal authority, that the allied monarchs should have created to themselves the difficulty that the declaration must give rise to; or should have assumed the appearance of being so little solicitous for its success.——It is curious, too, to observe, from another part of the manifesto, how little share *England* seems to have had in this association. We appear to be as completely excluded, and are as solicitously disclaimed, as the cause of the Bourbons. The confederacy is formed wholly for *continental* objects. Our only share is to *pay the money*. As a price for our being released (for *a time*) from the dread of invasion, we are willing to defray, and are to defray, nearly the whole expense of the suit, leav-

ing the powers on the Continent to conduct the cause in what manner, and to what objects, they may think fit. A curious catastrophe this to the measures proceeding from the doctrine of the Anti-continentalists, whom, however, the reader must not be surprised to find amongst the *approvers* of the present alliance, and of the immense subsidies which will, and must, be provided for the support of it! He must not be surprised to hear them repeat the very phrases, which have already been worn thread-bare, by the Treasury prints, in praise of "the *great* "*man*," who has "brought about this pow-"erful combination against our inveterate "enemy," not reflecting, or, at least, seeming not to reflect, that to the blunders and the love of place of this "great man" it is that we owe those dangers, which alone could render such a combination of importance to us; and that, the combination has, at last, arisen from that state of danger, bordering on despair, to which the powers combined were reduced, in consequence, chiefly, of those blunders and of that selfish ambition. In short, and to use my old illustration, the fellow who, in attending to his own gratifications instead of his duty to his employers, left his pot to run over and thus set fire to Westminster Abbey Church, might have taken to himself the merit of calling forth all the anxiety, zeal, and exertions, so conspicuous upon that occasion, with full as much propriety as Mr. Pitt can claim the merit of having produced the present alliance upon the Continent. Let it be recollected, too, that the fire is not yet extinguished. It still rages. If the pile, or even a part of the pile, be rescued from its destructive influence, the merit is none of his; and if, instead of checking, the war should feed the flames, and the whole should be destroyed, on him, as far as regards England, will still lie all the responsibility.——As to the present prospects of the war very little can be said. There are doubts about the conduct of the *Elector of Bavaria*; and, if we may judge from the language of the French, he cannot be expected to join his forces to those of the allies. The language of the French is not, however, much to be relied on, in such a case.

THE PARLIAMENT will not meet till about or till after, Christmas. There is time wanted to make *peers* and *baronets*, and to employ those other means, which are necessary upon *such emergencies!* The longer it is before parliament meets, the longer, of course, will it be before the trial of Lord Melville can begin.

Botley, Thursday,
10th Oct. 1805.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.——*Exposé of the reciprocal Conduct of France and Austria, since the Peace of Luneville, read by the Minister of Foreign Relations in the Conservative Senate of France, at the Sitting of the 23d Sept.* 1805.

All Europe knows, that during the war, in the midst even of the most signal and decisive successes, the Emperor of the French never ceased to wish for peace; that he often offered it to his enemies; that after having reduced them to the condition of receiving it as a benefaction, he granted it to them upon terms which they dared not to expect, and which rendered his moderation no less conspicuous than his victories. He is sensible of the full value of the glory acquired by arms in a just and necessary war; but there is a glory more calm, and dear to his heart; his first wish, the constant end of all his efforts, have ever been the tranquillity of Europe, the repose and happiness of nations. This end had been attained; the Emperor omitted nothing to make it lasting. It would still continue, if the encreasing prosperity of France had not brought it to a period. It was at first altered by the artful measures, and afterwards broken by the open perfidy of the Cabinet of St. James's. But peace reigned at least on the Continent: through the vain and false pretexts under which England sought to shelter herself, Europe easily discovered her real motives.—England was afraid of beholding the French colonies, which had been, and which might become, so flourishing, rise from their ruins, and grow up again, as it were, out of their ashes; jealousy wished to stifle, or at least to arrest in its progress the industry of France, revived by the peace; it cherished the silly desire to drive the French flag from those seas, in which it had hitherto appeared with distinction, or at least to reduce it, so as that it could no longer appear there but in a state of degradation, unworthy of the rank which France holds amongst nations. But the motives of England did not terminate there; she was urged on by that insatiable avidity, which makes her covet the monopoly of the commerce and industry of all nations; by that unbounded pride, which induces her to look upon herself as mistress of the seas, and which is the only foundation of the extraordinary despotism which she exercises upon them.——The cause then that France had to defend, was the cause of Europe, and it was natural to suppose, that neither the intrigues of England, nor the gold which she held forth to all those who might be disposed to be subservient to her ambition, nor her deceitful promises, could

engage in her quarrel any of the continental powers. No one of them, in fact, appeared disposed to accept either her propositions or her recommendations.——At ease respecting the dispositions of the Continent, the Emperor turned all his thoughts to the maritime war, for which every thing was to be created. Fleets were built; ports were excavated; camps were formed on the shores of the ocean: the Emperor had assembled there all the forces of his empire; and his troops forming themselves under his inspection for operations altogether new, were preparing for new triumphs. England perceived the dangers with which she was menaced. She wished to obviate them by crimes. Assassins were thrown upon the coast of France. The English ministers to neutral powers became the agents of a warfare, infamous as atrocious, of a warfare of conspiracies and assassinations.——The Emperor saw into these pitiful conspiracies; he treated them with contempt, and was not thereby prevented from offering peace on the same terms which he had before proposed.——So much generosity could not assuage, nay, seemed even to augment the frenzy of the Cabinet of St. James's. Its answer shewed clearly that it would not think of peace, till the hope should be extinguished of deluging the Continent with blood and carnage. But it was sensible, that to accomplish such a design, the association in its views of a power, by its position, almost as unconnected with the Continental system as England, would not be sufficient; that not having any thing to expect from Prussia, whose sentiments were too well known, its expectation would be vain, as long as Austria should remain faithful to her neutrality.——Austria, which had twice experienced, at the end of two disastrous wars, at the time of the treaties of Campo-Formio and of Luneville, the generosity that France was disposed to shew towards a vanquished enemy, did not by any means pay the same religious observance to treaties, as France. Notwithstanding the formal stipulations of these treaties, the debt of Venice was not discharged; it was even declared extinguished. The Emperor was aware, that his subjects of Milan and Mantua, experienced a denial of justice, and that the Court of Vienna had liquidated none of their demands, in contempt of the solemn engagements which it had entered into. He was aware that the commercial relations of his kingdom of Italy with the hereditary states, were subject to obstructions, and that his subjects of France and Italy found in Austria a very different reception, from that which a state of peace gave them a right to expect.——In the distribution of the indemnities in Germany, Austria had been treated with a partiality that ought to crown all her wishes, and surpass even her expectations. Yet her conduct shewed, that she was far from being satisfied. She alternately employed arts and menaces to procure from the petty princes the cession of such possessions as suited her. Thus it was that she had acquired Lindau on the Lake of Constance, and the Isle of Menau in the same Lake, which placed in her hands one of the keys of Switzerland. She obtained the cession of Altkousen from the Teutonic Order, which made her mistress of an important post, the port of Rhinau. She had enlarged her territory by a number of other acquisitions, and was meditating fresh ones. As a means of aggrandizement, she was not afraid to employ evident usurpations, which she sought to conceal under legal forms.——Thus it was, that, under colour of a right paramount, (a right which she had renounced by a treaty) and the exercise of which was incompatible with the execution of the recess of the Germanic empire, she appropriated to herself some possessions, which she affected to consider in a state of dishersison and without legal proprietors, though the recess had formally disposed of them towards the division of the indemnities. By these means she disappointed many princes of those possessions which it had been thought just to assign them, under pretence of this same right paramount, which, so far as regarded the Swiss, she called the right (*d'Incamération*), she carried off considerable sums from Switzerland. She sequestered the fiefs of a neighbouring prince in Bohemia, under pretence of compensations due to the Elector of Saltzburg, of which, contrary to every right, she claimed to be sole arbitress. She persisted, with menaces, to keep recruiting parties in the Bavarian provinces, in Franconia and Suabia, and interrupted, by every means in her power, the conscription for the electoral army there, abusing the prerogatives formerly granted to the head of the German empire for the common benefit of the states composing it, and now fallen into disuse. She revived them in order to interrupt the exercise of their sovereignty by the neighbouring princes, in those possessions which fell to their lot in the division, and to deprive them of the increase of influence in the Diets, which ought to result from these possessions.—— The recess of the empire, a consequence and fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, had for its object, exclusive of the division of the indemnities, to establish, by means of this

distribution itself, in the South of Germany, an equilibrium, which might ensure its independence, and to prevent those eventual causes of misunderstanding and war, which an immediate contact between the territories of France and Austria might frequently give rise to. Such was the view of the mediators and of the German empire; such was the view of justice, of reason, and of an humane policy, and conformable to the true interests of Austria herself.——Thus Austria reversed what the recess had so wisely established, when, by her acquisitions in Suabia, she weakened the barrier between France and the principal states of the South of Germany, and when, by a combined system of sequestrations, pretensions, caresses, and menaces, she was incessantly aiming to secure to herself an exclusive, universal, and arbitrary influence, over that part of the German empire. She, therefore, evidently violated the existing treaties, and every one of her acts may be considered as an infraction of the peace. Since the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, Austria had, on more than one occasion, shewn a partiality to England. She had recognised by her acts the pretended right of blockade, which the Cabinet of St. James's has dared to arrogate, and according to which, a simple declaration of the English Admiralty is sufficient to put under interdict all the coasts of a vast empire; she had suffered, without remonstrance or complaint, the neutrality of her flag to be continually violated to the detriment of France, against whom all the violences offered to neutral flags were evidently directed. All these facts were known to the Emperor: many of them excited his solicitude. These were real grievances: they would have been just motives for war; but for the love of peace, the Emperor even abstained from all complaint, and the Court of Vienna received from him only new testimonies of deference. He made a law for himself to avoid every thing that could give offence to Austria. When called by the wishes of his people of Italy, he repaired to Milan, troops were assembled, camps were formed, with the single view of mixing military pomp with religious and political solemnities, and of presenting the Sovereign Majesty in the midst of that splendor that pleases the eyes of the people. The Emperor will allow that he had also some pleasure in seeing his companions in arms re-assembled in the places, and on the very spots which were consecrated by their victories; but wishing to prevent the uneasiness of the Court of Vienna, if it were possible that court could feel any on the occasion, he caused that court to be assured of his pacific intentions, by declaring that the camps which had been formed would be raised after some days, and this promise was exactly fulfilled. —Austria answered by protestations equally friendly and pacific, and the Emperor quitted Italy with the pleasing hope that the peace of the Continent would be preserved. But how great was his astonishment, when, scarcely arrived in France, while at Boulogne hastening the preparations for an expedition which he was at length on the point of carrying into effect, he received from all parts the intelligence, that a general motion pervaded all the forces of the Austrian monarchy; that they were advancing by forced marches on the Adige, in the Tyrol, and on the banks of the Inn, that those absent on furlough were recalled, that magazines were forming, that arms were manufacturing, that levies of horses were raising, that they were erecting fortifications in the defiles of the Tyrol and about Venice, and that every thing was doing which announces and is characteristic of an impending war. The Emperor could not at first believe that Austria seriously wished for war; that she wished to commit to new hazards, and to condemn to new calamities her people, fatigued by so many reverses, and exhausted by so many sacrifices. Having had it twice in his power to deprive the House of Austria of half its hereditary states, far from diminishing its power, he had increased it. If he could not count on its gratitude, he thought he could rely on its faith. He had given it the highest mark of confidence it was possible for him to give, in leaving his continental frontiers ungarrisoned and disarmed. He believed it incapable of abusing this confidence, because he would have been so himself. There are suspicions which cannot enter into generous hearts, nor find place in reflecting minds. The Emperor took pleasure in confirming himself in his favourable presumptions, and he did not fear to shew to what point he desired to see them established. The Court of Vienna omitted nothing to prolong the illusion. It multiplied pacific declarations; it protested on its religious attachment to treaties; it authorised its ambassador to make the most assuring declarations; it sought, in fine, as well by plausible explanations as formal denials, to dissipate the suspicions its measures may have given rise to: still, the hostile preparations redoubling every day in extent and activity, became more difficult to be justified. The Emperor ordered that Count Philip de Cobentzel, Ambassador of the Court of Vienna, should be invited to fresh conferences, and

that the correspondence of the diplomatic and commercial agents of his Majesty, should be communicated to him. For four successive days M. de Cobentzel waited on the Minister of Foreign Relations, who placed before his eyes the dispatches previously received, and those which arrived successively from all parts of Germany and Italy. The cabinets of Europe will find in their archives few examples of similar communications made in circumstances in which suspicion was so natural. The Emperor could not give a more convincing proof of his good faith; he could not carry sincerity or delicacy farther. The ambassador from Vienna took a view of the most positive, the most incontestable documents, which, from all parts announced the speedy breaking out of a war, always preparing though so studiously concealed. What answer could he make? Up to that moment peace had been loudly professed by his court at Paris and at Vienna; but on all its frontiers war was at length openly organized. The Emperor, however, was unwilling to reject all hope of accommodation. He persuaded himself that Austria may have been led away by foreign suggestions, he resolved to do every thing to bring her back to a sense of her true interests. He represented to her, that if she did not wish for war, all her preparations were without an object, inasmuch as all her neighbours were at peace; that therefore she was unconsciously, and contrary to her intention, serving the cause of England, by making in her favour a diversion not less powerful, nor less injurious to France, than a declared war would be.——If she wished for war, he made her see its probable consequences. Superior to all the considerations, which are bars only to weakness, he did not dissemble that he dreaded war: not that after so many battles fought in the three parts of the old world he could fear dangers, so often braved, and so often surmounted; but he feared war on account of the blood it causes to be spilled, on account of the sacrifices without number it must cost to Europe; and in consequence of a love perhaps excessive for peace, he conjured Austria to desist from preparations, which, in the present state of Europe, and in the particular situation of France, could be considered only as a declaration of war, and as the result of an agreement made with England. Still further, he desired that similar representations should be addressed to the Court of Vienna by all his neighbours, who, though strangers to the cause of the war, whatever that cause may be, had to fear being the victims of it. The conduct of the Court of Vienna weakened the hope every day. Far from desisting from its pretensions, it increased them. It terrified by its armaments the people of Bavaria and Suabia. It gave the people of Helvetia reason to dread seeing ravished from them the repose which the act of mediation had restored to them. All invoked France as their support, as the guarantee of their rights. However, it dissembled still, and as a pledge of its pacific intentions, it offered a sort of intervention which it is difficult to characterise, but which, considering only its apparent object, could be regarded only as idle and puerile. The Emperor of Russia had caused passports to be demanded for one of his chamberlains, whom he had an intention of sending to Paris. The Emperor knew not what were the views of the Cabinet of Petersburgh, they had never been communicated to him; but always ready to seize on every thing that could contribute to an approximation, he had granted the passports without delay and without explanation. All Europe knows what was the reward of his deference. The Emperor learned afterwards, by indirect ways, and also by the reports that were circulated through Europe on the subject, that the design of the Court of Russia had been, to try by means of parleys to introduce at Paris a very strange system of negotiation, by means of which she would at the same time have stipulated for England, from whom, as she said, she had full powers, which proves how much England was sure of her, and have negotiated on her own account. So that while nominally a mediator, she would have been in fact a party, and that by two different titles.—— Such was the end of the intervention Russia had projected, and which she herself renounced, without doubt, because reflection made her feel the inconvenience of it. But it was precisely this same intervention which the good offices of Austria had for their object to re-produce. It was not likely that France should have suffered herself to be placed in a situation in which her real enemies, under the plausible name of mediators, dared to flatter themselves with imposing on her a hard and insulting law; but the Cabinet of Vienna, perhaps without hoping that its good offices would be accepted, found a great advantage in offering them, that of abusing France for a longer time, making France lose time, and gaining time itself. At length throwing off the mask Austria has, in a tardy answer, manifested by her language what she had announced by her preparations. To the representations of France she has answered by accusations. She has made herself the apologist of England, and

announcing that she was opening her states to two Russian armies; she avowed openly the concert that exists between her and Russia in favour of England. This answer of the Court of Vienna, full at once of injurious allegations, of menaces, and of craft, tended naturally to excite the indignation of the Emperor; but thinking that through those insults and threats he had a glance of some ideas which permitted him to hope, that an arrangement would be still possible, the Emperor made his natural pride to yield to considerations all powerful over his heart. The interest of his people, that of his allies, and of Germany, which was going to become the theatre of war; the desire, too, of doing a thing agreeable to a prince, who, repelling with an honourable constancy the insinuations, the instances, the offers so often repeated of England, and those she had seduced, had shewn himself always ready to contribute by his good offices, either to the re-establishment or the maintenance of peace; all these motives led the Emperor to make his just reflections. He determined to demand of the Court of Vienna explanations, which should make known the basis upon which negotiations could be carried on. He ordered the Minister of Foreign Relations to prepare a note to this effect. The courier who was to be the bearer of it was on the point of setting out, when the Emperor was informed of the invasion of Bavaria. The Elector had been summoned to join his army to that of Austria, and, as if his anticipated refusal to make common cause with Austria, from which he never received but evil, against France, from which he never received but good, could have been to the Court of Vienna a just motive for war, the Austrian army, without any previous declaration, in contempt of the duties which his situation of Emperor of Germany imposes on the Emperor of Austria, in contempt of the Germanic constitution, of the Germanic empire itself; in contempt, in fine, of all the most sacred rights, passed the Inn, and overrun Bavaria in profound peace. ——After such an act of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor could have no longer any thing to demand of it. It became evident, that even this congress proposed, with a tone so imperious, and with views so visibly hostile to France, was but a new snare for its good faith: that Austria irrevocably determined on war, would not return to its pacific ideas, and that she was not even free to return to them. The course of exchange at all places proved evidently, that a part of the sums granted to the English minister to answer his purposes on the Continent, had reached its destination; and the power which had so bartered its alliance, could no longer spare the blood of its people, the price of which it had received. All farther explanation with the Court of Vienna having thus become impossible, the appeal to arms is the only resource compatible with honour. Let England applaud herself for having at length found allies; let her rejoice that blood is about to flow over the Continent; let her flatter herself that her blood will be spared; let her hope to find safety in the discord of other states; her joy will be of short duration; her hope will be vain, and the day is not far distant when the rights of nations will at length be avenged. The Emperor obliged to repel an unjust aggression, which he had in vain exerted himself to prevent, has been obliged to suspend the execution of his first designs. He has withdrawn from the borders of the ocean those veteran bands, so often victorious, and he marches at their head. He will not lay down his arms till he has obtained full and entire satisfaction, and complete security, as well for his own dominions as those of his allies.

Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, to the French Senate. September 23, 1805.

Under the existing circumstances of Europe, I feel it an urgent duty to appear among you, and to make you fully acquainted with my sentiments.——I am just leaving my capital, in order to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my allies, and to protect the dearest interests of my people.——The wishes of the eternal enemies of the Continent are accomplished: war has commenced in the midst of Germany; Austria and Russia have united with England; and our generation is again involved in all the calamities of war. But a very few days ago I still cherished a hope that peace would not be disturbed. Threats and outrages only shewed that they could make no impression upon me; but the Austrians have passed the Inn; Munich is invaded; the Elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital; all my hopes are, therefore, vanished.——Such is the moment that has unveiled the mischievous machinations of the enemies of the Continent. They are still alarmed at the manifestations I have made of my deep and determined desire for peace. They are apprehensive that Austria, at the aspect of the gulph they had prepared to swallow her, might listen anew to the dictates of justice and moderation; they have hurried her into a war. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe; but the French name will emerge

with renovated and increased lustre ——Senators, when at your desire, at the call of the whole of the French people, I placed upon my head the Imperial Crown, I received from you, from every citizen, the solemn promise to maintain its honour pure and unsullied. My people have on every occasion afforded me proofs of their confidence and affection; they will fly to the banners of their Emperor, and of his army, who in a few days, will have passed over the frontiers.——Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all are resolved to rescue the country from the influence of England, who, if she prevailed, would grant us only a peace marked with ignominy and shame; and of which the principal conditions would be to burn our fleets, to shut up our ports, and to extinguish our industry.——What promises I have made to the French people, I have fulfilled. The French people, on their part, have entered into no engagement with me which they have not more than performed. At a moment so important for their glory and for mine, they will persist in asserting the name of the Great People, a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and of glory.——Frenchmen; your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers will do theirs; you will also discharge yours.

Causes of the Decree of the Senate for raising 80,000 Conscripts, presented to the Conservative Senate, by Regnault, De St. Jean Angely, September 23, 1805.

SIRE, the eagles of your armies were about to cross the seas; the violators of the treaty of Amiens, tormented by remorse, agitated by fear, were on the point of being punished by your justice: but a few days more, and the liberty of the seas might have been conquered for the world, even in the very seat of the tyranny of the seas.—— There is another act of perjury, which calls your Majesty to fresh combats. In spite of the faith pledged at Luneville, the Emperor of Germany threatens the French empire. He is marching against your frontiers both his own and the Russian troops; the broken remains of those whom your Majesty vanquished, or sent home unransomed.—— Your army, Sire, formed of the same legions which conquered the Austrians and the Russians, completed by French citizens taken from every class and quarter of the empire; your army, whose strength is increased by the nature of its composition, whose devotion to your person doubles its energy; your army, which knows how to feel and think, as it knows how to fight, whose indignation will, if possible, increase its valour; your army is sufficient to fight and conquer, and he diversion so dearly paid for by England, will only have the effect of retarding her humiliation, and changing the scene of your first triumphs.——But if, while preparing, on the one hand, to combat Great Britain, and confiding, on the other, on the fidelity of your allies, perhaps trusting to the plain sentiment of their interests, which at any rate should have counselled them to neutrality, your Majesty has not increased your army, and have not prepared, by extraordinary levies, for a successive recruitment, different circumstances demand different measures.——In the years which followed the peace, as in those which followed the war, your Majesty has only called for the same number of conscripts: you wished to leave as many as possible for the purposes of agriculture and the arts. At present, Sire, your wisdom requires that the French youth should prepare to pay their country the whole debt, and even before the period when she would otherwise have called for the payment of it.——The orators of your council demand your order to the Wise Men (Sages) of the empire, to arm a more considerable part of the strength of the nation; and to order a levy of 80,000 conscripts for the year 1806. Several reasons have combined to make it the duty of the Senate to decree this measure. It is true, that the raising of the conscription has been ordered up to the present time, by the acts of the Legislative Body. The proposition offered to the Senate, will not disturb the order, nor destroy the usage heretofore followed; it will only form an exception, which circumstances justify. And first, when his Majesty is at a distance, leading his legions to victory, prudence prescribes his preparing, before he quits the centre of his empire, all the means of success which his wisdom has conceived. The delays necessary for the convocation of the Legislative Body, would retard those measures, the quick execution of which, now become necessary, is guaranteed by the intervention of the Senate.——Secondly, the alteration of the Kalendar prolongs the exercise for the year 14, which will be the same as that of 1806, until the 13th of January, 1807, and it will consist of fifteen months. Hence results the necessity of a change in the period of conscription for the year 15. Following the plan of the division of the year, which France has just abolished, this conscription ought only to include those young men, who will have attained, on the 22d September 1805 (the last day of the year 14), the age

of twenty.——Sire, your Majesty has declared in your council, that your armies already are sufficiently strong in men and arms, and that they possess all the means of triumphing over the unexpected attack and the ill-advised perfidiousness of your enemies. —A league more numerous and more formidable, was formerly established against France; and the allied armies, increased and swollen like the waves in the tempest, were broken, like them, against the mounds that our battalions, under your guidance and protection, have opposed to them.——The cold and blind sentiment of passive obedience will carry the troops to the fight that our enemies will collect. The enlightened and ardent sentiment of love of their country, and of their Monarch, will precipitate the French soldiers into the midst of dangers.——The chiefs of the foreign powers and armies, having separate interests, unite for a moment by treaties, to quarrel afterwards on their execution. Though they agree in their cabinets, they seldom agree in the camp, and still more rarely do their generals agree with each other in the field of battle.——In France, on the contrary, in the council and in the army, one spirit unites all minds, fixes all interests, connects all the forces, plans all the resources, creates all the means, foresees all the difficulties, has all the affections at disposal, directs all the movements, prepares every success; and this spirit is a compound of the love and confidence of the nation, and of the genius of its chief.——At any rate, Sire, your Majesty knows, that, even to her favourites, fortune never gives, and often dearly sells them, victory: Father of the people, as well as of the army, you will be forced to purchase, with the blood of your children, the triumphs to which you will lead them. —But, Sire, a noble sentiment of devotion and of patriotism will give to the people, as to the army, the courage to will and to execute the necessary sacrifices. One brave soldier will replace another; in the battalions of reserve, always complete, your Majesty will be sure always to find enough to fill the void left by battle in the battalions of war. The conscripts whom you will call upon will vie with the veteran warriors of your legions for zeal and fidelity, readiness, and courage.——I call to witness, Sire, that march of your army from the coast of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine —that march, almost without halting, during which not one soldier has quitted his colours: I call to witness the wish of those conscripts, who are mortified at being condemned to the inaction of a depôt, and who have claimed their places in the rank of the troops which are engaged in battle.——The French people, Sire, have put into your hands the right to will for them, and their free, bold, and courageous will is, like your's, to maintain the integrity of their territory, and to defend their interests, their glory, and all the benefits which they derive from your Majesty.——Your Majesty will uphold, with your all-powerful forces, with the energy of your inspiring looks, the force and the energy of the nation, and you will not pronounce, you will not let them hear the name of peace, before they are by you avenged and victorious.——Such, Sire, is the wish of France, to the accomplishment of which the Senate will contribute, by ordering a levy of 80,000 soldiers, to ensure our battalions and squadrons being always complete, and always renewed until the last victory.—— When your Majesty, whose person and mind are indefatigable, makes labour a duty which occupies you by day, and abridges your nights; when you are going to expose to the hazard of war your exalted head, the French, Sire, we judge of them, and we swear for them from our own hearts, will only vie in emulation, readiness, and devotion; the sorrow will all be reserved for those, who, being subject to other duties, or condemned to follow another line, cannot aspire to the honour of sharing the perils and the glory of your brave soldiers, of braving dangers with them, and of conquering or dying under your Majesty's eyes, for you, and for their country."

Circular Letter from the Grand Judge Minister of Justice, to the Imperial Attorney's General to the Courts of Criminal Justice, dated Paris, September 25, 1805.

The intrigues and the gold of England, Gentlemen, have at length prevailed; she has dragged two great powers into the war, one of which is so much the more culpable towards France that her throne, shaken by the valour of our soldiers, has only stood through the moderation of the conquerors. The emperor marches in person to disconcert the projects of our enemies, and, under such a chief, seconded by such brave armies, victory cannot be doubtful. But, to insure the duration and plenitude of our success, we must all be animated with the sacred love of our country: we should all, warriors, magistrates, and citizens, by a common effort, contribute as much as in our power to support the most just of wars, and to second, with all our energy, the generous monarch who, in order to preserve France at the high degree of glory and of power to

which he has raised her, is going anew to encounter fatigues and dangers.——Amongst the means that are to guarantee our success, the conscription is, without doubt, the most powerful of all, since upon that depends the renovation and the permanence of our military forces, as well as the good composition of our armies; we must then apply, with indefatigable perseverance, to cause the laws and decrees it has rendered necessary to be religiously executed. Without doubt, the youth of France, so distinguished for valour, and always so ready to march at the voice of honour and of their country, will crowd to follow the steps of their emperor; and amidst this sublime impulse, we must hope that there is not a Frenchman so unworthy of the name as to refuse joining in the perils and the glory of our warriors. If, notwithstanding, any should be found who, yielding to dastardly fear, or giving way to perfidious suggestions, should prefer infamy to honour, they, their abettors and accomplices may expect inevitable punishment. Thus, whilst the military tribunals shall punish refractory conscripts, you must prosecute, and cause your subordinates to prosecute, with inflexible severity, all those who, from disaffection, corruption, or even an unseasonable and false pity, shall dare, in a manner less or more criminal, to aid or to favour the coward who shuns our colours. No exception of persons, no effeminate complaisance: reflect that, in a matter so grave, and with which the public safety is so intimately connected, all partiality, all relaxation in the execution of the laws, would be a great crime towards the country. Be penetrated with this salutary doctrine; impress it frequently on the minds of those magistrates before whom you exercise your functions, and make them forcibly feel that an imperious duty requires them never to depart from it. Receive, Gentlemen, the assurance of my affectionate sentiments. (Signed) REGNIER.

First Circular of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects, dated Paris, September 25, 1805.

"SIR,——I send you the speech which his Majesty delivered to the Senate a few hours previous to his departure for the army. Let it be made known to the public functionaries and the citizens of your department. Let all be animated with the sentiments by which it has been dictated; after the example of the emperor, let them do their duty! That duty is not doubtful; France is menaced, insulted, and attacked in the possessions of her allies, the enemies' armies are marching against our frontiers; the emperor puts himself at the head of our troops to drive them back to their own territories. What sacrifice can it cost to imitate this example of devotion! Let those who have not the good fortune to participate in his dangers, concur at least to his glory, by an eager obedience to the orders of government. The emperor seconded by his people, will obtain successes which will be the inheritance of all; the prosperity of France, her independance, and a solid and honourable peace, will be the result of his labours, of his perils, and of our efforts."

Second Letter.——"Sir, The Emperor would, at all times, have reckoned on your zeal for his service, and your love for your country. He is now in a situation to require, in a particular manner, a proof of this double sentiment. An unexpected circumstance changes the position of France, and demands new efforts which will conduct to new glory, and to a repose which shall be no more troubled. The Powers of Europe interfere in our quarrel with England; they have armed to prescribe disadvantageous conditions of Peace to France, which was of itself a Declaration of War; for undoubtedly they did not expect of her that condescending weakness. Their armies have invaded the territory of her allies, and are marching against our frontiers: *the peace of the Continent exists no longer!* Thus the blow which was about to strike England is turned aside, or rather suspended. It is still on the Continent, and by new victories that we must seek peace. The Emperor sees with regret this sad necessity; but he does not hesitate, when the national interest and honour leave no other choice. The war must be brisk in order to be short! The nation must make a grand effort, and destroy, by its all-powerful unanimity, by its invincible courage, and especially by its activity, this new Coalition, no less odious than the others, because its object is to bring her under the yoke of a rival nation, which will not be satisfied until she shall have destroyed, without the possibility of their recovery, our marine, our commerce, our industry, our riches, and our means of prosperity. The menaces of the enemy command above every thing, a prompt and unanimous determination.

(To be continued.

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